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KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

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PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
592 patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group of relatives. These are brought together through the workings of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost without exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus
592 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
596 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might find himself in the center of five generations which would include his father's father and his spouses, father and father's brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. Within such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father, and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal (paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society, since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy applied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be inherited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
595 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been maintained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
562 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

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ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That explains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

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Every dwelling has at least one child, and only a single household lacks an adult woman. No more than three residences shelter two adult men, which indicates that there are no long-standing bachelors and which also serves to show how little is left of the traditional unilocal *household system*. There are very few spinsters and no unmarried widows or divorcees.

TABLE III

NATAL RESERVATIONS OF CAUTINCHE WIVES

Present Wives	Former Wives	Total	Natal Reservation
6	2	8	Carrarriñe
3	2	5	Boldoche
1	3	4	Romulwe
1	2	3	Cautinche
1	2	3	Chivilcoyam
0	2	2	Denencuhue
0	2	2	Malalche
0	1	1	Huichicon
1	0	1	Coigue
0	1	1	Curaco
1	0	1	Peyuko
1	0	1	Pemuche
1	0	1	Catrimalal
1	0	1	Cuelche
Totals 17	17	34	

The practice of polygyny still exists, but seems to be falling into disuse. It was reported that in the recent past men with two or three wives occupied houses Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, and 17,[4] but at present only occupants of Nos. 4, 10, and 11 are reported to have two wives each. It is worthwhile to analyze the marriage arrangements a bit more, in the light of the general discussion in the preceding chapter. At one time or another the seventeen male householders have married a total of thirty-four women.

[4] Doubtless, Cautinche's first two *loñkos* had multiple wives but, since exact information was unobtainable, they are not included in this discussion.

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595 [582] Of these, only three were from Cautinche (Table III), which strongly suggests that at Cautinche reservation exogamy is the rule. The men do not seem to have ranged too far afield in the quest for mates, for all of the reservations listed in Table III are close together (see Fig. 1). Nearly half of the wives, sixteen out of thirty-four, came either from the parent reduction of Carrarriñe or from the intervening communities of Chivilcoyam and Boldoche (see Fig. 1). This seems to indicate a preference for making marital arrangements among a restricted number of social units.

A review of the past and present polygynous matings also throws light on the operation of the social system. Thus, Juan Llancanao Antinao, of house No. 4 (Fig. 4), was first married to a Carrarriñe woman and about seven years later he took a second wife from the same reservation. The original occupant of house No. 5, Huenchual Huenupi, married a woman from Romulwe, by whom he had seven children. He also took another mate from Romulwe, by whom he begot three children. On the death of his first wife Huenchual Huenupi went to Argentina, but his second spouse remained in Cautinche with a lover. On Huenchual's return home his wife and her lover moved to Argentina. Huenchual never remarried.

Millan Lincopan, of house No. 7, married his first wife some forty-five years ago, took a second mate about five years later, and a third after the lapse of a similar period. All three women shared the same *ruka* for many years. They are said to have quarreled in the beginning, but to have lived in harmony after a time. The first and third spouses were distant relatives from Denencuhue, but the second woman was unrelated to them and was from Romulwe. Millan Lincopan had offspring by all three wives. After their death he married a widow from Boldoche, by whom he had one son.

595 587 Householder No. 10, Antonio Huircapan, was married to two women through the levirate, as each of them was the widow of an older brother. Moreover, in accord with traditional usage, they were cross-cousins (*ñuke*) of their husbands.[5] Another

[5] The man in house No. 16 also acquired his wife by levirate.

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polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively.

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2).

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV).

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language.

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RENACO

621 162 592 Renaco's population distribution conforms closely to the pattern described for Cautinche and Carrarriñe. There are fifty-six people grouped into nine households, an average of slightly over six to a dwelling. The number of adults of each sex and the proportion of adults to children may be seen in Table VI.

There are several unusual household combinations in Renaco. House No. 4, for instance, contains a bachelor, his unmarried

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF RENACO'S POPULATION

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	4	6
2	1	1	6	8
3	1	1	5	7
4	1	1	2	4
5	3	1	2	6
6	3	3	1	7
7	2	2	2	6
8	1	1	3	5
9	2	3	2	7
Totals	15	14	27	56

sister, and a young brother and sister. Informants said of this householder, Domingo Huenchual, that "he did not wish to marry." A male *machi*, José Teuque, used to occupy structure No. 5, but long ago he moved to Argentina. The house now shelters Francisco Villegas with his wife, two children, and two bachelor brothers. In No. 6 there lives a couple with one small child, two unmarried grown sons, and two unwed adult daughters. Of the four children belonging to the couple in No. 7, one is a bachelor and one a spinster.

592 621 162 595 Only a single case of polygyny was noted at Renaco. The chief, who lives in No. 1 with one wife, has a second wife in No.

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9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reservations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected wives from the same place. Like Carrarriñe, Renaco has a fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes.

A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered.

About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bío Bío River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collío, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collío-Painemal people moved to Carrarriñe. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collío-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarriñe, Antío Paineo, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarriñe about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarriñe divided to form Cautinche. The off-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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INFANCY

453 Babies are encouraged to nurse as soon as possible. If a mother's milk fails or proves unsuited, as judged from the appearance of a child's skin, tongue, or excreta, any friendly lactating woman may be called upon for help. Sometimes, a group of helpers may work in shifts, with one nursing a child early in the morning, another in the forenoon, a third at noon, and so on. Sometimes, too, in polygynous households, comates [595] may help to suckle each other's young. "No how," exclaimed Collio in one of his interviews, "will they let a baby starve!" One Araucanian man told me that he had been suckled, at least in part, by the wife of his oldest paternal uncle; a paternal grandmother helped with the nursing of another. Such evidence confirms the importance of the household unit as a basic, functional group of kindred, for each of these wet nurses, through the agency of unilocal, patrilocal residence, was a housemate of the child she helped to suckle.

553 The concept that the first few days of an infant's life constitute a kind of trial period also finds expression in the naming customs. No discussion of a name takes place before a baby is at least a week old and has given indication that it is in good health and will probably live. The option of naming a first child customarily belongs to the paternal grandparents, but if they have many descendants they may, out of courtesy, transfer the privilege to the mother's parents. Either the grandfather or grandmother, depending on the sex of the infant, serves as godparent, holding the babe in his arms, and giving it his own name before witnesses.[14] So closely is the custom followed that the term *l-aku*, father's father, also means namesake, and 553 the naming rite is called *l-akutun*.[15] If he can afford it, a god- 431 parent gives presents to a namesake. Traditionally, the gifts

[833] for as much as a year or eighteen months. Very likely, the abandonment of polygyny has led to an earlier resumption of sexual relations.

[14] A variant account of naming practices occurs in Hosse, 1939, pp. 255 ff.

[15] *L-aku* is a reciprocal term for a man's father's father and son's son, and *chachu* or *llalla* refers to a woman's mother's mother or daughter's daughter (Figs. 2, 3). Augusta (1916, I: 109) gave namesake as one of the meanings of *l-aku*.

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also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick in fighting; and co-wives, *mũriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchi-mallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[21]

[21] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 72.

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the respective mothers-in-law may refer to each other as *ñi-llandomo*, which signifies "women united through the payment of a bride price."

The Araucanian custom of "mock rape" or abduction has for years aroused the interest of social scientists. No single explanation can possibly cover all the variations of the practice, which has differed at various stages of Mapuche history and which fluctuates with a man's wealth and previous marital experience. For example, marriage by abduction is customarily the rule only for the first of a man's wives, and today the institution is kept alive primarily by rich men of high prestige. Other marriages center about an exchange of gifts, and natives point out that neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment.

In times past abduction seems to have taken place in at least three different contexts. When they were fighting intratribal wars, Araucanian men sometimes raided enemy settlements and literally carried away women whose resistance was anything but simulated. In other cases men abducted brides without prearrangement, but later made adequate payment; and in many instances the entire affair was worked out in advance, and resistance was purely formal.

After reviewing all the pertinent data, it may be concluded that out and out abduction of women was a rare phenomenon that was occasionally brought about by a combination of exogamy and a continuous state of internal warfare. Much more commonly, abduction and its concomitant resistance seem to imply only a highly dramatic form of "ceremonial coyness." As I have elsewhere written: " 'Ceremonial coyness' is best explained by the reluctance one feels at leaving a familiar home to take up residence in a strange one, especially if one's new family is to be merged with that of the parents-in-law."[31] The applicability of this interpretation to the Araucanians has been indicated in an analysis of social singing wherein it was pointed out:

[31] Titiev, 1943, p. 517, footnote 30.

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591 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Woman's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[33]

574 585 Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain unilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postmarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

586 Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness [762] that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer suicide to any other arrangement.[34] The rarity of divorce is also 58 correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied hus- 595 band may take another mate without the need of divorcing his previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[33] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[34] Cf. Hunt, 1939, p. 240.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home.

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[18] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[19]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all.

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it

[18] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[19] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1929, II: 33–56; and House, 1939, pp. 217–21.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
" " female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huen.*
Mother's sister, *niukentu.*

Marriage relations.

Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *vilyion.*
" sister, *nyudu.*

The collateral relations took the same names :—

Husband's father, *Kempu.*
" mother, *Llalla.*
" brother, *ngülyenyi.*
" sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations :—

Stepfather, *pelruchao.*
Stepmother, *ngenye.*
Stepson, *malyi nuten.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi mialuc.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *vuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinyem.*
Mistress, *unpum.*
Children in general, *ovayi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little
1167 care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can
847 run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from
815 a very early age take an active part in the license and debauches of their parents.
Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

provide the purchase price, and to maintain them and their families. Formerly it was common for a chief of importance to have as many as twenty, but now the number rarely passes four or five. The first wife (*onen domuche*) has, however, a certain moral ascendency over the others (*mau domuche*). As a general rule there is little jealousy among the wives, who take it in turns, either daily or weekly, to attend to the personal wants of the husband, as also in sexual intercourse. It is probable that formerly exogamous customs prevailed, but at present the only restrictions imposed are that a man may not marry his mother or sister. What seems to indicate that exogamy was an ancient practice among these Indians, is the fact that all marriage ceremonies begin with the pretended rape, or carrying off of the bride, which of late years has given way to a simple elopement, unless the bride be unwilling, when the older custom is resorted to. The marriage ceremony consists of two parts; the rape (*leventun*), and the payment (*mavun*). Having arranged the price with the father or eldest brother of the girl, the bridegroom arranges the details of the rape. He calls together his male relations, and while one of them goes to the bride's house on some pretext or other, the rest make a sudden attack on the dwelling. This is energetically resisted by all the womenfolk, the men of the household remaining passive spectators. One of the raiders seizes the struggling girl, and none too gently drags her to where the bridegroom is waiting on horseback. Placing her in front of him the latter gallops off to the wood. Here the pair remain for three days, food being taken to them by their friends. After this the bridegroom takes home his bride to the hut he has already prepared for her. This custom of carrying off the bride is only practised in the case of the first wife. A few days later comes the feast of the payment (*mavun*), to which all the relatives of both parties are invited. The price paid varies according to the status of the bride. If she is of superior rank, the payment sometimes reaches as high as ten or twelve animals, cows, mares, or sheep; an approximate value of about £12 to £14 sterling. A poor man obtains a wife of his own class at the cost of a few shillings. If a bridegroom cannot pay at once the whole of the price agreed upon, he lives with his father-in-law till the debt is cancelled. Generally he puts the whole of his relations under contribution, and, as this debt is considered one of honour, it is usually paid in a very short time. If it were not paid within a reasonable period, the father could recover his daughter. The husband could only refuse to pay when the wife died prematurely, and could demand the return of the value given if she abandoned her home.

Marital Customs.—It was a former custom not to permit a woman to give birth to a child within the precincts of the village, as it was considered to cause infectious diseases. She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and retired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the *ruca*, which constituted her home. Here she remained a week attended by some

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (kūde).

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refūy) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.)

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1:328, 2:162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter fiuke (mother) while she called him peñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, *in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative.

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llancas (llaŋkas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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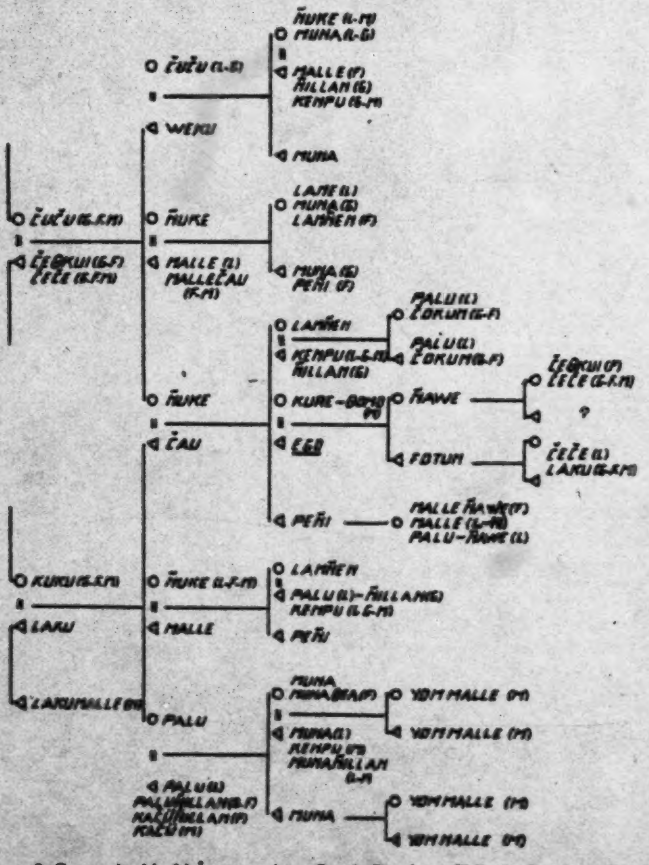

DIAGRAM 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautín Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Moesbach (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoSi (referred to as step-mother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

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There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately discernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identification on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124: Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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Brouwer 1892:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[5] 595 601 611

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946; 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*kurun*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate. 174 601 587 595

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chau*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the leviratical obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llopu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llopu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed. 174 582 601

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiBrDa marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiBrDa because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interfamilial bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders.

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and MoSi on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Sororal polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system.

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern.

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely nonsororal in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household.

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved preferential, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha nomenclature is presently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time.

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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842 groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive [581] wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a [597] childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[278] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Coñaripe area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called koftun.

[787] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Coñaripe area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[278] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

595 In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

162 The number of children in families in areas under my observation

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551 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mas Cosa by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mas Cosa"; at home she was called Suspirado de Laureles (sighing of the laurels). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pizarro because he was a domineering person; another was called Miner because he was caught digging for something unknown to the namer. A woman was called The Dancer because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous
● [595] households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous. (Pls. 20; 21, *1*; 22, *1*.)

593 The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—
602 and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is ex-
554 pected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All familes, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

556 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a
593 ruka, land, oxen, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disaster, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Coñaripe] is rich if he has 50 to 60 sheep and more land than he needs for

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No case of psychosis existed in Panguipulli area while I was there. 158
There was a mildly psychotic woman in Alepúe area—a woman with a hyperactive thyroid. "Everybody knows she is queer," remarked the informant. She was the only psychotic person that had come to the attention of a non-Araucanian herbalist, or of whom she had heard it said that he was psychotic, in her 10 years in the area.

The only psychotic person in Cofiaripe area was a middle-aged man. He lived in a ruka close to his aged father's. During an interview with the old man, the psychotic man was exceedingly boisterous in his own ruka. "He is scolding," said the father, "but it makes no sense. For some time past now, he stays in his ruka and does not want to leave it. Formerly, he walked around on the campo. He used to go to the mission to talk nonsense to the Sisters. They listened to him, gave him something to eat, and then brought him home. We bring him food, but for some days now he has refused to eat." The old man had no plans for caring for him beyond keeping him in his ruka and guarding him in case he became dangerous.

In Boros area there were four psychotic persons, two women and two men. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have seen all four persons. One man leaves home and wanders about until he is brought back home. The other will not wear any clothing; he lies nude in his bed on the floor covered with a blanket. When disturbed, he rises abruptly and spins himself on his feet so rapidly that he seems not to touch the ground. I saw him do this. One of the women talks nonsensically and incoherently; the other sits in melancholy fashion and never speaks."

MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Until recent years polygynous marriages were customary. In- 595
formants recalled men who had as many as six wives, but the prevailing number was two. A man usually married as many women as he knew he could support and for whom he had the bride price. Occasionally a man succeeded in getting an additional wife without paying the bride price. Polygynists were usually caciques, the sons of caciques, the machi, and other men of means. A man was known to have married a second wife because his first wife was too old or too lazy to do the necessary work. A man also married successive wives when each one failed to bear him children; he believed that each of the women was sterile. According to Cooper's sources wealthy or other prominent men had as many as 4 to 10 wives; an occasional one had 18, 20, or even 30. Some men, either from choice or because they were [554]

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595 not able to pay the bride price, maintained a monogamous marriage (1946, p. 721).

Occasionally a woman resented her husband's marrying a second wife, either because she had a personal dislike for the other woman or was jealous of her, or because her husband neglected her, or it reflected on her capabilities. An instance was related where a man announced to his wife, who had borne him six children, that he was bringing home a second wife, a young woman. The young woman was brought in, and the neighborhood was feasted for a week. The two wives lived in separate ruka. The man ignored the first wife, and forbade her the customary jurisdiction over the second one. The non-Araucanian interpreter added: "The older one told me of her intense inner suffering because of this. When at the point of death, the husband came near her and immediately her resentment was roused, and she kept calling him, 'You devil.' The woman often said to me, 'I have suffered terribly.'" Instances were known where a woman found the situation of simultaneous wives exceedingly trying; sometimes so unbearable that she committed suicide by hanging herself. Usually, however, there was no difficulty about this.

Although at present monogamous marriages prevail, there were polygynous marriages in each area I visited. They are prohibited by Chilean law and are looked at askance by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. "Any man who has two wives today," said a 45-year-old Alepúe man, "is spoken of in derision as a cacique; to have two wives today is considered a disgrace." South of Boroa (Licán area) many men today have two wives; one has four.

Formerly, simultaneous wives were often sisters, possibly because of the custom of the sororate which was institutional but not obligatory. Today simultaneous wives in Licán are usually not sisters; no two of the Licán wives were. In Alepúe, they were: "Down near the Pacific lives a man, now older than 100 years, whose two wives were sisters; one is still living, the other died not long ago. A machi in Melusin has three wives, two of whom are sisters." Many times wives were more distantly related. It was known that, in general, wives that were related lived more agreeably together than did others; exceptions, however, were spoken of.

Usually there is a considerable difference in the ages of the wives. The second wife of the 100-year-old man was younger than the children of his first wife.

More often than not each wife occupied—as they do today—a separate ruka; ruka in such cases were usually not far apart. If two or more lived in one, its fireplace was either shared by them or each

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had her own. A Boroa cacique's three wives lived in one long ruka 595 ●
and each had her own fireplace. In another Boroa ruka each of two wives occupied one-half of a long ruka, but used a common fireplace which was located in the middle of the ruka. Ruka were not divided by partitions—the fireplace was the dividing line.

Wives shared the household duties to a large extent, with consideration being shown to the one first married. It was she who acted as head wife, making all household arrangements and giving orders to the other wives. She had priority over them all in all things. In case of an argument, the younger ones were expected to keep still. "My grandfather used to say that his second and third wives were like maids to the first one." This did not mean, however, that the first wife did not participate in household duties.

Cooking was done by each wife in turn, if it was done for all families together—"that is, if it was done in one kettle. One wife prepared the forenoon meal and another the afternoon meal—we had only two meals each day formerly." Sometimes wives took turns by days. In some households each wife cooked for her own children—"it depended on what the oldest wife ordered." In such cases the husband took turns eating with his several wives and their children.

Each wife tended to her own children. She and her children were at home in the section of the ruka assigned to her. She kept this section clean and had all her belongings there. She did not feel at home in the sections occupied by the other wives, and would not take things from there for her use without the permission of the woman to whom they belonged. "If each wife feels at home only in her own section, fewer unpleasant happenings occur."

Polyandry, according to present informants, was never a part of the Araucanian culture. No instance was reported by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 721). Although Cooper's sources recorded it (1946, p. 722), my Araucanian informants emphatically denied that wife lending ever was practiced. The fact that the Araucanian language has no word for wife lending leads me to believe my informants. Two non-Araucanian women who know Araucanian family life intimately did not believe that wife or daughter lending to guests was practiced. "Hearing you say it is the first time I have heard it said about the Mapuche," said one. "I do not believe either that girls have sexual relationship with several men before they marry; an occasional one does, yes." Again this is not in agreement with Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722). The other non-Araucanian continued: "I am certain that these are not customs of the Mapuche. The marital life of married couples is very fine. Exceptions such as Cooper's sources give

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595 would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

836 Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722).

838 A promiscuous woman is called ñuadomo. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was common.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, those children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 490). "Two men in this area (Alepúe) are so married, but the people criticize them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

614 No informant had heard of a sib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words kuga and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a sib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a sib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 722-723).

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or ruka. "There are, however," the informant added, "still many that cook, work, and sleep in a one-room ruka; much depends on the size of the family." 342

Cooper's sources recorded that as many as 80 to 90 persons lived in a single ruka; 30 to 40 was a more common number. Dimensions of ruka varied from 16 to 20 feet in length by 10 to 13 feet in width, to 66 feet in length by 33 feet in width; an occasional one was longer. A cacique's ruka was estimated by one source to have been approximately 140 feet long and 30 feet wide, with a ridge pole 15 feet aboveground. In Cautín, ruka were 400 to 800 feet square. Most ruka, however, had only one or two entrances, with no doors or windows. An opening (or openings) in the center of the roof served as a smoke hole (something my informants doubted). Small conical thatched ruka were also used, according to Cooper's sources. Warriors made temporary shelters against rain and hot sun by arching four sticks and laying over these four large leaves of nalca. The interior of the larger ruka was usually divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section, and served as sleeping quarters for the different families or for the wives of one man. Ordinarily there was a separate fireplace provided for each married couple or wife. Storage space was in lofts or in cane-partitioned bins (1946, pp. 70@708).

Today the size of a ruka depends on the wishes and needs of the owner. A wima (the distance from chest to fingers of an outstretched arm) is the unit of measurement. "When I used to help to build ruka," said a 100-year-old Cofaripe man, "we measured off so many wima on yarn for the length, so many for the width, and so many for the height, and then set out to build the ruka accordingly. An Alepúe man in his forties said: "Today a measuring pole of one vara [2.8 feet] is used. Standard length of rafters is 4½ vara; the height of walls, always greater than 3½ vara; the width and length of the ground plan depends on the size of the ruka that the man wants to build." 342 804

Regarding the ruka of a man with several wives, a 33-year-old Cofaripe man told that his grandfather had one large ruka for his two wives; that men with more than one wife today have a ruka for each wife. "A young man near here who has two wives has a ruka for each; the two ruka are about a 5-minutes' walk apart. An old man here has one of his two wives living across the river and the other in Llisco." 342 895

Ruka have no windows; usually each has two entrances, located in walls away from prevailing winds—in opposite walls, sometimes in adjoining ones. Doors are upright planks that are generally tied 342

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551 Argentine army. "Every man was given a Christian name then, and the officers made him use his Araucanian name as a second name." A child was given the father's "second" name (Araucanian given name) as its surname when its birth was recorded. All adult men were very recently required by Argentine law to obtain from public officials a Libreta Enrolamiento; adult women, a Libreta Civica (cf. p. 352), that is, a permit to vote at federal elections. Anyone who did not have a surname when applying for the permit was given his father's Araucanian name by the government officials issuing the voting permits. (Cf. List of Informants for present-day names.)

Children were not nicknamed; adults were. Anyone could nickname another. A nickname pointed out an unenviable quality possessed by the bearer, and was used only "when we were speaking among ourselves; not everyone knew everybody else's nickname." Examples of nicknames of men, friends of an informant, were: Black Hide, Liar, Black Belly, Bewildered Head, Wild Horse (he who was running to other women), Poncho of Tin (a lazy man). Women, too, were nicknamed. "There were always senseless women. If a woman was a prostitute, she was given a name because she was that way."

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In general, the family that conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence was respected. Families thought of as quite below the accepted norm were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, or in which a parent habitually drunk to intoxication, or in which there was an unmarried mother.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

573 The man dominated the family, but his wife and children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. If there was no resistance to the man's expressed authority, the household was usually a well-ordered and peaceful one. "Formerly families were like one; they wanted no disorder; everyone had to do his duty."

575 In general husband and wife lived together in peace and contentment. In cases of polygynous marriages, the wife first married—usually also the oldest one in years—gave orders to the others. She was exempted from such work as cooking and washing; the other

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wives took turns doing these. At extraordinary work, however, such as skinning animals or shearing sheep, all worked jointly. "My father had three wives that were not sisters to each other; they all lived in one tolde, but very agreeably so." 595

If husband and wife differed to the extent of quarreling, the wife generally gave in eventually. "If she would not keep still or do what her husband wanted her to do, things ended by the man hitting her." Instances where husband and wife did not live peacefully together were related by women who had been ill-treated by their husbands. 593 578

A disagreement sometimes reached the stage where the husband nearly killed his wife; but no case was recalled where a woman hanged herself to be relieved of an impossible marital situation. Causes for serious quarrels were drunkenness on the husband's part, infidelity or neglect of work on the wife's. "It is that way today," said an old woman. "My son often scolds his wife—I hear him. Then his wife complains to me. But I have noticed that she neglects her work; she is really stupid. I say to her, 'You are married and you must try to get along with your husband; and you must be prepared to suffer a little, too.'"

Children were loved by parents—in fact, by adults in general—and had much freedom within the family. No one child was given preference over others; all were expected to do their share of the work as soon as they were able to, and were held to their duty of doing so. 513 855

During this study children were seen with parents, grandparents, or other adult relatives everywhere, and they always seemed happy. Young mothers fondled their children and played with them. One tied a strand of grass about her baby's hair to keep it out of its eyes. While doing so she talked to the baby, and the baby jumped up and down on her lap, chattering. Another young mother repeatedly kissed her child and tickled it to make it laugh. Later the child sat on her lap, cooing to itself. Still later it toddled to an empty bucket, dropped something into it, and looked at its grandmother with surprise. The grandmother, too, put on a look of surprise and said, "What are you doing?" The child then laughed gleefully, and all present laughed with amusement. A young woman was rearing four children of her first marriage and three of her second (her first husband having died). All her children appeared happy, and, according to neighbors, no distinction was being made by the woman and her husband between the children of the two marriages.

Parents provided food, clothing, and shelter for their children; trained them in the mores of the people; taught them work expected

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MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Formerly a cacique had three, four, or more simultaneous wives; having several wives added to his prestige. The great-grandfather of the present cacique in Quilequina had six wives; his grandfather had three; his father, four; he himself has one. Commoners not infrequently had two wives; in more recent times, with rare exceptions, they have only one.

In the early days the support of several families was no economic problem. Later, however, a man would have found it difficult to take care of two families—"that was while we were being deprived of our land and animals, and were being chased from one place to another." Today it is impossible for a man to support more than one family; also, monogamy is enforced by Argentine law.

Each of simultaneous wives lived with her children either in a separate toldo, in one of several attached toldos, or in a section of one large toldo. Attached toldos had outside entrances only. Simultaneous wives were seldom sisters. "Our cacique had six wives, not one was a sister of any of the others. The six lived in two houses, and agreeably so." Each wife took her turn at cooking for all, but all wives and their children ate with the husband. A 70-year-old informant, the son of a cacique, told of his father's three wives: "They were not sisters, but life was always pleasant in our house. We all lived together in one house and had one big fireplace. My mother had six children; one of the other wives had four; the other, five.—I recall one cacique who had 25 children, because of his many wives.—We children of the three wives got along well; we had great respect for each other and liked each other; our parents would not have allowed us not to like each other. My own mother I called ñuke; she was my father's first wife. The other two women I called kake ñuke; in your language it would be aunt mothers. My father I called chau chau. All sons of his three wives were my brothers, and I called them peni; all his daughters were my sisters, and I called them lamgen or deu."

When Kidegun married, the Argentine army was already in control, and monogamy was being enforced. Quoting him: "I had one child by my first wife. I did not like my first wife. While married to her I went around like a wild horse. After she died I married another. I had a daughter and a son by her. After she died I had two wives at the same time; each lived in a separate house. One was my true wife, according to Argentine law; the other I had alongside of her,

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595 unbeknown to the Argentines. The true wife knew about the other one, and sometimes when she got angry, she threatened to tell the Argentines about her."

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. When Kolupan comprehended the relationship of cross-cousins and parallel cousins, he said with much emphasis: "Those persons that you talk about had great respect for each other, among us. They would never have been allowed to marry each other; least of all would my children have been allowed to marry my brother's children—of all children those had the greatest respect for each other. It was expected among us that a man look for a wife in a family well known to his parents, one that lived under the same cacique. It did happen that a person under one cacique wanted to marry a person under another cacique, but [speaking with much animation] when a man of one cacique asked for a girl in a family under another cacique, it took many, many, many words to get her."

All informants were agreed that preferential marriages were those between persons in the jurisdiction of the same cacique; in fact, this was the proper marriage. Marriage with a non-Araucanian was tolerated but not favored, and the non-Araucanian partner was disliked. Even a Chilean Araucanian mate did not have the same status as an Argentine Araucanian, according to my observations. Intermarriage with neighboring tribes or with Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara, even in days of intimate trade, was exceedingly rare, according to persons acquainted with the literature of early travelers in the Araucanian country.

587 614 Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate, or of a sib system. According to Kolupan, a widow never married again. He added, "It is not that way today!"

AGE OF PARTNERS, CHOICE OF MATES, LOVE CHARMS

In general, in the early days, women were older than 25 when spoken for in marriage; men at their first marriage were usually in their thirties. "Formerly, both men and women were expected to have sense before they married." Several men were known to have married a last wife when 80 years or older. Parents complained to me that their teen-age daughters were marrying young men not much older

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Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence — at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships — and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is — at least during one or more phases of its development — always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

Lof and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen — father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. Since *lofn* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

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lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in polygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which still exists among the Mapuche.

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudau* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

Elpa is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpa*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, although reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned – and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance – for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal

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C13 1978 alogies back to the chief who held title to reservation land, the original holder of the *título de merced*, since questions of rights to reservation land hinge on this relationship. And this was both important and possible owing to the group's immobilization. Under reservation restrictions the localized lineage has ramified into localized sublineages which trace descent *directly* to a common ancestor, usually no more than several generations removed – that is, to an important ancestor who lived just before the reservation policy went into effect. Unimportant collateral ancestors have been forgotten.

621 C13 Diagram I represents lineage and household alignments on reservation Alonqueo. There are several unrelated kingroups of unequal size, importance, and viability on this reservation, which makes it representative of all but the tiniest reservations in Mapucheland. A discussion of the Huentemil maximal lineage will serve to indicate how sublineation has proceeded over the past few generations.

The diagram shows Huentemil as the recognized founder of a maximal (and dominant) patrilineage. He is generally agreed to have [595] had five wives and a large family, which comprised most of the residential kingroup in preservation times.

The males of the generation immediately below Huentemil are all said to have been brothers, but there is disagreement among informants as to which of them were full, half, or even classificatory brothers (i.e. parallel cousins). Since nothing in detail is remembered of the siblings, parents, or other relatives of Huentemil, there seems no way to clarify this uncertainty. It seems of utmost significance that, in view of this uncertainty, the several sublineages should all claim direct descent from Huentemil. He is actually remembered by a few of the oldest living members of the reservation community, although it is clear that much of what they recall of him is apocryphal. He is already shrouded in an aura of semimyth, well on the way to becoming one of the deified chiefs who walk with the sons of the gods. This indicates both the manner in which, and one of the reasons for which, the lineage system is frequently manipulated to include only ancestors of social importance. This genealogical maneuvering may take place on any generation. Eventually it is passed along as truth, and it is doubtful if such manipulation is ever a fully conscious fabrication. In general it may be said that collateral relationships are manipulated so that they converge and the actors become direct descendants at a generational level below that of the "founder" of the maximal lineage.

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as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 613 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement. 613 621 595 592

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II).[1] Other brothers also moved out from the parental home *to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children*. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained. 613 621 [49]

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not 613 621 361

1 [See CAT: 116, P.32 ~ Analyst]

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6

The Domestic Group

Every Mapuche is born into an elementary family, a reproductive unit consisting of father, mother, and children, with which he identifies to some extent as long as it exists as a unit—that is, as long as his parents live. The same individual, after he marries, is almost always a member of a larger and differently composed domestic group in which the elementary unit into which he was born (his family of "orientation," or part of it) is a segment among others which have become attached to it and which includes the families of procreation of himself and his brothers. This family constellation constitutes a phase in the growth cycle of the domestic group and is called herein an extended or a joint-extended family. I use extended family in the sense of a corporate social unit, whether or not it is domiciled under a single roof. With the death of the paterfamilias, the several elementary units constitute a joint family of brothers and their wives and children, as long as they remain integrated. Of somewhat different composition is the group or segments of it which is formed around half-siblings, in cases where either the father (or less often the mother) has married more than once. These tend to be polygynous families. In any case, where these half-siblings are domiciled under one roof or in a single residential cluster of households, this comprises a domestic arrangement which is herein called a compound family.

These three types, elementary, joint-extended, and compound, are

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED[a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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837 there is not a general neglect of wife and children as a result. Other men, while not openly condoning promiscuity among their peers, treat the matter jocosely and extend feigned sympathy to the husband who has to disport himself with other women and yet attempt to maintain a respectable front. The women of the community react to such behavior with attitudes ranging from stern disapproval to malicious enjoyment, depending mostly on the extent of their friendship with the wife of the wayward husband.

If a man's extramarital affairs result in a failure to fulfill familial duties, it is likely that his own closest kin will admonish him. He might be advised that times have changed and that the day of the polygynist is past. It is rare for such admonition to come from the [602] wife's family, who only in extreme cases intervene on behalf of their kinswoman, and then usually to suggest that she return to her father's house.

A woman will remain with her husband even though she knows or suspects that he is having sexual relations with other women. If the husband provides the expected economic security, as he is morally obliged to do, and the woman has children to occupy her thoughts, she does not return to her father's or brother's house. She may not even urge her husband to give up his lover. This is especially so if she has lived on his reservation for a number of years and has made close friends with some of the other women, among whom are her own [595] classificatory sisters. It is not difficult to see the historical roots of such attitudes in a society in which polygyny was once widely practiced, the principle still active, and in which such forms of marriage continue to occur. An indication of an elder brother's attitude might be had from one man who told me that as long as his sister was provided for he did not feel justified in meddling in her affairs; that he could not bring her back to live with him since he had barely enough land to support his own family and his widowed mother; that it would take time before the Mapuche threw off their "barbaric" habits; that *he* was patient and was willing to wait until his sister's husband settled down to domestic life. Some combination of these sentiments is expressed by nearly every Mapuche, male and female alike.

684 Men expect postmarital chastity from their wives and punish
837 breaches severely. It is said that formerly a man could legitimately kill both his unfaithful wife and her lover, if he was able to catch them in a compromising situation. I heard a few stories about husbands who killed their wives' paramours in more recent times, but not

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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. 861 [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young. [865]

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations. 853 [595]

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth. 863

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself. 856 [861]

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. [594]

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. *But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each.* [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). [593] [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche,* although the
613 latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority
621 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

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other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. 596

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. 596 607 [595] [586]

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuñen* (*moyo*, breast; *puñen*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. [601] [595]

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother–daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of 596 606

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension – migration – is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

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595 former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

[178] [583] I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights [178] over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. [169] One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

[128] In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

596 595 For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incorporate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or [581] more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

595 [596] There is some historical material which describes living arrangements within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships – that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction.

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called *inan domo*, a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unan domo*, on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher *bride-price was paid for the* primary wife than for the others, but since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household.

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household.

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

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595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous arrangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[583]

[601] Co-wives use the term *machewe* (fierce woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecations. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *machewe* is used more often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage-sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives [587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man gets a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilocally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization.

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir.

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care — again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and "other mother" (*ñañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment.

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar-

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riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise – a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[a] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

[a] [i.e. – Children living on the reservation of their mothers' second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather – Analyst]

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§33 Although the amounts of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the §34 sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

[§3] Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court-
[§34] ship itself is called *thewgun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual
[§36] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human [§35] and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a [§35] wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock animals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the de-[§3] [§4] liberations of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

[§3] Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions
[§4] and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge
[§3] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual de-[§3] sire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [§36] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within supportable bounds.

§35 The incest barrier is theoretically immovable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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SG4 SG3 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

SG7 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

[SG] A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

SG9 SG9 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

SG7 SG8 SG9 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan domo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

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587 595 Filial inheritance of views is reported in the historic literature as well as in oral histories, but is now said to be unthinkable by most Mapuche if it implies sexual intercourse between the heir and his father's wives. Many informants claimed to recall such arrangements having occurred a generation or more ago, but emphasized that marriage was not involved, there being no ceremony. If sexual intercourse occurred, it was between a man and one of the younger wives of his father, not his own mother or women on her age level. Filial inheritance has disappeared with the passage of large compound households. If a son lives with his widowed mother, a situation which is very common today, this is not considered filial inheritance of father's widow. Indeed, it seems only to have occurred in the past when there were multiple wives who had no other means of support. Economic responsibility was the feature which characterized the relationship.

SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

586 Divorce implies some disposition of marriage wealth at the termination of the marriage. If the woman leaves her husband's reservation, she relinquishes rights to the land. This is the functional equivalent of returning the bride-price. Her family once more assumes responsibility for her support by making a place for her on her natal reservation, either on land which she might claim as her own or in the household of one of her close relatives.

The children of the divorced couple retain membership in their father's patrilineage, although there is a tendency for the younger children to return with their mother to her reservation, in which case they assume a peripheral position in relation to their mother's brother's residential kingroup. The extent to which they become integrated into this residential unit depends largely on the position of their mother in her natal group. It is customary for these children to acquire certain rights over land after their mother dies (if she is a *radicada*) or when the boys are ready to marry. Therefore, as the boys marry, an additional segment of their patrilineage becomes established. However, since there is a good deal of competition for land on today's reservations, these children might have great difficulty in exercising any claims. There is a tendency for them to marry uxorilocally or, if possible, to return to their father's reservation. Perhaps the most common tendency is for them to emigrate, leaving the re-

[167] [possibly "wives" is meant. - Analyst]

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insofar as preferred matrilateral marriages are concerned. Conceptualization of this order eliminates the necessity of establishing exact genealogical connections for the twofold purpose of marrying exogamously and marrying matrilaterally.

If, for example, a man's forbears married women from X lineage, localized on a certain reservation, he might look there for a wife knowing only that there had been an affinal relationship established in the past. Being directly related to a single family through, say, the marriage of a "grandfather," he has access to all the marriageable females of his paternal grandmother's lineage or, if his own father had so married, to his mother's lineage females, which is the same thing. However, if father and grandfather had married into different groups, our hypothetical ego would have at least two possibilities for marrying matrilaterally. If we change from an individual (ego) to a group (lineage) point of view, we may say that ego's lineage can obtain women from these two wife-giving groups.

It will be remembered that the Mapuche practiced polygyny on a grand scale, *lonkos* having many wives and *konas* having two or more. Polygyny involved sororal marriage and widow inheritance. These customs are only now dying out, the practice of polygyny beginning to diminish after the inception of the present reservation system around the turn of the century, and for good and sufficient demographic and ecological reasons.

If ego's father married two women from different lineages, ego would have two different wife-giving groups. So would all his "brothers," "father's brothers," and so forth. If ego's father's brother married a woman from yet another lineage, then ego would have three lineages of wife givers from which to choose, and so would the rest of his lineage males. If ego's mother's brother does not marry matrilaterally, then ego, in marrying mother's brother's daughter, also establishes a tie with another wife-giving group. The actual degree of kinship and certain obvious situational factors define the meaningfulness of such connections.

The operation of polygyny, in which a man takes women from several lineages, establishing as many wife-giving lineages for the males of his own lineage, has created a network of relationships much more complex than the simple pairing of wife givers and wife receivers in a circular system or otherwise would suggest. These ties have ramified almost beyond the possibility of determination by ira-

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582 595 613 ditional ethnographic techniques, but it seems likely that the whole of Mapuche society is linked together by matrilateral marriage connections. The sororate and widow-inheritance forms of polygyny have tended to limit the number of wife-giving groups in relation to any single lineage. The decline of polygyny in general is also having this effect. There is a tendency to take wives from a limited number of the groups, provided wives are available, and a fear of witchcraft inhibits marriage into unrelated groups. Still, the system is vastly more complicated and flexible than has been described for certain other peoples practicing preferred matrilateral marriage.

582 613 There is, of course, no fixed number of marriage segments in Mapuche society. Indeed, each time the matrilateral pattern is broken and a man marries into an unrelated group, an additional unit of potential wife givers is brought into a matrilateral category with reference to another group. I do not suggest that the matrilateral pattern is broken frequently. If this were the case the Mapuche marriage system would be other than it is. Rather, I simply indicate that such marriages are variations which are handled within the matrilateral framework.

When, through polygyny or otherwise, several groups of potential wife givers are brought into relationship with a wife-receiving group, the offspring of the various women involved have their closest bonds of kinship with their actual mother's group. That is, a man has the closest relationship with his real mother and tends to look for a wife of her lineage or reservation, where he may have access to any of the mother's real or classificatory "brothers' daughters." This tendency to marry a woman from one's actual mother's lineage by no means lessens the flexibility of the matrilateral system, but it does seem to contribute to the greater unity of the sublineages within one's own localized lineage.

On reservation Alonqueo, males who are today between sixty and seventy years of age took almost all their primary wives from a single nearby reservation. Men between the ages of forty and fifty took some women from this reservation, but also ranged farther afield. There was nothing random about this, since, except for a few cases they married into the lineages from whence their mother's brothers had obtained wives (i.e. mother's mother's lineage). In addition, there are also marriages between Alonqueo men and women from lineages which we have previously designated as those of the father's mother. This general situation is indicated on the "lineage map" below.

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than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this combined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic pattern as found in the literature.

Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consistent with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminology which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patrilineal organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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582 601 613 structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the immediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on local aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

[578] [579] Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny – which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links – has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units – unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *weküfe*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not "breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that reintegration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The raison d'être of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, and, at all events, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

From Alonso's original household, therefore, which was composed of two elementary families and a collateral relative (SiDa), there have emerged two households: one maintained by his youngest son, José, and shared by his brother Curiñanque's son and family; the other, an offshoot, set up by Alonso's grandson.

Household 1 (see Map II): Widow of Juan, 1 unmarried son, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married son, his wife and infant son, and the widow's SiDaDa.

(X) *Household 2*: José/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 6 unmarried daus, 1 married son, his wife and 2 children; and the deceased Curiñanque's married son, his wife and 3 children.

(C) (1901) Juan Pablo Huenumil/1st Wi, 1 son, 3 daus.

Juan Pablo was a brother of Alonso. He and his family were not living on the "reservation" at the time of application for the título de merced, but moved back in time for the radicación. He set up his household in the southern, uninhabited part of the reservation, near the site of ruka 3.

Juan Pablo took another wife by whom he had two sons, Ramón and Juan, now occupying households 4 and 5, respectively. When Trasmiro, the son by the first wife, married, he and his wife remained in Juan Pablo's ruka. When Juan and Ramón married, they established rukas of their own. Juan Pablo died in 1930, both of his wives having succumbed years before, and Trasmiro became head of the household. Juan Pablo's children by his first wife no longer live on the reservation, with the exception of Trasmiro. The present offshoots from Juan Pablo's household are:

Household 3: Trasmiro/Wi, 3 unmarried sons.
Household 4: Ramón/Wi, 2 sons (under 3 years).
Household 5: Juan/Wi, 1 unmarried dau.
(Three more of Juan Pablo's sons no longer live on the reservation.)

(D) (1901) Minchiquem/Wi, 3 sons, 2 daus, SiSo.

Minchiquem was a brother of Alonso. His son Vicente still lives on the reservation on the same site occupied by him, ruka 6.

Minchiquem had two more sons after radicación, both still alive but both absent from the reservation. He also had two more daughters, one of whom is presently keeping house for Vicente, the other being absent. Vicente's cousin (SiSo) died without heirs.

Household 6: Vicente, SI.

(E) (1901) Widow of Martín, 2 sons (one married with no children), 2 SoSo, his wife, 4 sons, 1 dau; 2 SiSo of Martín.

Martín, a brother of Alonso, is said to have died in the last Mapuche rebellion, and his widow died c. 1910. The rest of the household continued to live near the present ruka 3. All those mentioned in the título de merced are now dead. Martín has no direct descendants. His SoSo, Lepín, had five more children, the oldest of which is now the household head of ruka 3, where he lives with his two younger brothers and two younger sisters.

Household 7: José Lepín, 2 Br, 2 SI.

IU:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)[196] SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

(F) (1901) Cuitluinca/W, 4 unmarried sons, 3 daus, 1 married son, his wife (no children). 592 621

Cuitluinca was a brother of Alonso. He lived in the northwest sector of the reservation near where his grandson and two of his sons now live—ruka 8, 9, and 11 respectively.

Manuel, his son who was married at the time of *radicación*, had two wives. By the first he had one son and two daughters. By the second he had a son, Pablo, who is now the household head of ruka 8, where he lives and is cared for by his elder sister. Both of Manuel's wives died after he did, but the first wife returned to her natal reservation in 1918. [595]

Cuitluinca's next oldest surviving son Pablo the elder, married two women (both deceased) who bore him five sons and one daughter. Pablo and Manuel are full brothers; they are half brothers to Bernardo and Francisco. [595]

Bernardo also married two women and has four sons (all absent) and three daughters (unmarried) who keep house for him. After his first marriage, Bernardo moved from the parental household in the northwest sector of the reservation to the site of his present ruka, 10, and cleared virgin land to farm. [595]

Francisco took only one wife, who is still living with him in ruka 11, and who bore him four daughters and one son.

Household 8: Pablo, Sr.
Household 9: Pablo, 2 sons, 1 dau.
Household 10: Bernardo, 3 daus.
Household 11: Francisco/W, 4 daus.

(1901) Llancamil/2 W/ (also four children), 3 sons, 3 "nephews" (exact relationship undetermined)

Llancamil is a brother of Alonso and mentioned in the *título de merced*, to which time he occupied a ruka near household 12. Llancamil's only living (unmarried) son is Guillermo, who lives in ruka 13 with his wife, two young children, and a younger sister. After marriage, Guillermo moved from Llancamil's ruka and established his own household in virgin land. The occupant of household 18, Juan Millapan, is a half brother of Guillermo.

Llancamil's widowed sister occupied household 13 with her son Segundo and 2 daughters. After her husband died she returned to reservation Alonso-quaro where a house was built for her on her brother's land. She has a married son, Domingo. [589]

Domingo lives with his wife and several children in ruka 14. His wife is descended from Carvajuan, an original *reducido* but no relation to Alonso. She was married to Llancamil's son, Pedro, who is no longer living on the reservation. Domingo had had one son and one daughter by his wife; three daughters of Pedro are also living in his household.

Household 12: Llancamil, dau.
Household 13: Guillermo/W, 1 son, 1 dau, 1 Bi.
Household 14: Domingo/W, 1 son, 1 dau, 3 stepdaus.
Household 15: Segundo, bro, 1 Bi.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

794 621 613 582 [178] acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon related to the maturity of the reservation system and an indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in regional identification.

613 582 581 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are limited by an absence of those very rights and obligations, since he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and obligations, which usually exist between two groups united through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year of existence.

794 582 578 613 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more and more to be identified with a local or regional block of reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

held in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives.

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this seems to be the erosion of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F$_1$-F$_2$, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity does, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Uncharted reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category.

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations or the matrilateral marriage system which generally tends to correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

significantly high correlation among the eighteen conventions indicated in Diagram II. These not directly tied together by marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapuchedom indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Tolten region.

The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the constituent conventions is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change, former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching marriage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance than the second point. The second point involves a consideration of the relationship between affinity and enmity, or the moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1961: 198ff) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Levi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other to which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of enmity and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

[Editor: see category 136, p. 135, for corrections -- Ambler]

18: Foran E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Magicks

(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the ritual. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A Selk'o's children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is always considered that their mother was a witch and, if their grievances were peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No causes of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a machi to perform a machitun (or machipurun), and at considerable expense since several machi and their assistants were involved in a day-long ceremony. The Selk'o was not invited from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into allotments and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was dissolved, and leave area. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

Where feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch controls rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not an effective mechanism that such fears are not felt and sometimes unwittingly made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households where fairly close changes against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between husbands' wives, most usually when the women are not related matrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

Id: Faron S-4.1 (1950-1954) 1954
SG4 Arauconians SG4
Mapuche

are obliged to complete a certain minimum of economic exchanges with a traditional kinship obligation. Furthermore, women standing in such relationship are generally married to members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among unmarried women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is acquaintance of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather unstable.

Serious charges brought against his wife involve a man in entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroilments by strengthening the importance of the accusations made by members of the residential kingship unit, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the accusation and form a psychological basis of rationalizement, in a manner which a rather sophisticated is itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become concerned at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinswomen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation, since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the public eye, since another is not involved.

While though there are more accusations of sorcery among unmarried women, there is rarely fear of enmity or serious threat. Genuine anger and fear might spread one another to give preference with their husband, or one might rush to cause another to become ousted. This is no great problem in Mapuche land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the toldo, whereon, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[illegible] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
593 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Chocoyo possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
142 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

576 To myself Chocoyo offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed